

LABOR'S CASE PARLIAMENT

A SUMMARY AND COMPILATION OF THE
SPEECHES OF J. E. WOLOSZCZAK, M.P.,
IN THE CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS
1921-1928

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Labor's Case in Parliament

A summary and compilation of the Addresses delivered in Parliament by Mr. J. S. Woodworth, M.P., Leader of the Labor Group in the Canadian House of Commons.

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Foreword

This book has been prepared by Mr. J. L. Cohen, of Toronto, a lawyer and labour research specialist, at the request of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees. The Brotherhood, which is the largest national and industrial labor union in Canada, is deeply interested in the political representation of the workers, and it was felt that the publishing of a brief analysis of the speeches of Mr. J. S. Woodsworth, M.P., during the past seven years, would be a distinct contribution to an understanding of what Labor men can do in Parliament.

Mr. Woodsworth has been the recognized leader of the Labor group in the House of Commons since his election in 1921. For four years, Mr. William Irvine, M.P., was associated with him, representing Calgary East, while Mr. A. A. Heaps, M.P., has been with him for three years, and Mr. H. B. Adshead for two. Their work has been of great value, and it is regrettable that, on account of lack of space, no extracts from their speeches can be given. At the same time, it will be recognized that Mr. Woodsworth's speeches indicate the general attitude of the Labor members toward the matters dealt with herein.

Importance of Labor Representation

The Labor members have done a great deal more than appears in this compilation. On every subject that came before the House for consideration, the Labor men have expressed decided opinions, and exerted a strong influence in favor of the workers' viewpoint. More important still, subjects have been introduced by them which demanded statements of policy by leaders and members of the old parties. The latter have had to go on record, both in their speeches and their votes, on questions which they would have preferred to avoid and which would not have been brought up if the Labor members had not been there.

In the course of the seven years in which Labor has been definitely represented in the House, the Labor members have been able to establish means of co-operation with the Progressive and Independent groups, with the result that they are now able to count on the support of a score or more of members, thus exerting an influence on legislation out of all proportion to their numbers. The greatest practical achievement has been the establishment of Old Age Pensions, which would not yet have been placed on the Statute Books if it had not been for the Labor men.

What happened was this. After the 1925 elections the two parties were almost equal in numbers, with the Independents (Labor and Progressives) holding the balance of power. The Liberal Government held office, but was dependent on this small group for support. The Labor members indicated to both old

passing certain legislation which they thought essential. The Liberals promptly introduced this legislation, which included Old Age Pensions. The Bill under the energetic attack of the Conservatives passed the House but was rejected by a Conservative Senate. When the next election came in the following year Old Age Pensions were one of the issues and with the return of the Liberal Government the Senate had to bow to public opinion and the Bill was passed. The Labour members with the help of the few Progressives, a sympathetic Minister of Labour and a favourable public opinion had put through one of the most encouraging pieces of social legislation on the Statute Books of the Dominion.

Next in order is the question of Unemployment, Sickness and Invalidity Insurance on which considerable work has been done recently. After pressing a motion for enquiry into the subject for two years Mr. Heape was able to have the matter referred to the Industrial Relations Committee which has just reported favourably on the general proposal with a recommendation for further investigation. Considerable space was given to the question both in news columns and editorially by the press of the country and the interest of Labour was focussed on this important issue. The Labour members will carry on this work and with proper support should be able to obtain satisfactory legislation.

The Labour members have taken a prominent and active part in all important committees. Through the medium of the Banking Committee Mr. Woodsworth for instance has been able to carry on effective propaganda involving a critical examination of the

ion to their parliamentary duties. Each one sends weekly letters to Labor and Farmer papers, and gives many addresses to Labor and other groups throughout the country. Mr. Woodsworth has been particularly active in this respect, giving all his time with the exception of a two or three weeks vacation in each year to the Labor movement, speaking to various group conferences of farmers, students, and workers, and writing constantly on behalf of the cause.

I take great pleasure in recommending this book to the workers of Canada. As President of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees for the past twenty years, I have seen the rise in Canada of a labor consciousness and a political consciousness which have since the war given us a fine start towards the representation of labor in municipal, provincial and federal politics. I believe that the reading of this book and the assimilation of the facts which fill every page, will be a means of hastening the day when Canadian workers will have their full quota of Labor members in Parliament and other legislative bodies, and bring to fruition the work which has been so splendidly initiated by Mr. Woodsworth and his associates in the House of Commons.

A. Q. Mosher

President,

Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees

Ottawa, February, 1929.

A Note on Method

The arrangement of the following chapters is based on the "Fourteen points" of the Manifesto of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, which was prepared as a platform for the 1923 election. Mr. Woodsworth, as a representative of that party in Parliament, has, in the course of his speeches in the House, covered practically all the items in the Manifesto, and it was believed that it would provide the framework for a clear and orderly presentation of Labor's viewpoint.

In view of the magnitude of the subjects, and the lengthy treatment of them by Mr. Woodsworth, it was impossible to use the method of direct quotation to any extent. The material here presented, is, however, believed to be a fairly accurate compilation of Mr. Woodsworth's addresses. Direct quotations appear usually in small type.

Most of the chapters are introduced by some preliminary remarks by the compiler, but the bulk of the material consists of a condensation of Mr. Woodsworth's statements and as the whole book has been revised by him, it may be taken as expressive of his understanding of Labor's attitude toward the great social and economic problems of our time.

J. L. COMER

Toronto, December, 1928.

MANIFESTO OF THE INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY OF MANITOBA (FEDERAL ELECTIONS, 1923)

The Independent Labor Party of Manitoba is formed for the purpose of giving political expression to the aspirations of all workers, regardless of industrial affiliation, who believe in the establishment of a Co-operative Commonwealth with production for Use and not for Profit as its economic basis.

Pursuant to the above declaration we have in view a complete change in our present economic and social system. We recognize our oneness with workers the world over. In every problem which can confront the State we place "Human Needs" above "Property Rights".

In applying the above, we advocate

1. Reopening for the use of the people of this country the Natural Resources which have been so recklessly alienated by provincial or royal administrations.
2. Public ownership and democratic operation of public utilities and as soon as possible of essential large scale industry.
3. The nationalization of the banking system.
- 4.—The establishment of a high standard of living with adequate provision for all forms of social insurance.
5. An employment the recognition of the responsibility through federal, provincial and municipal administrations, to provide suitable work for all at such remuneration as will ensure a decent standard of living. Failing the provision of such work adequate maintenance.
6. Generous provision for returned soldiers and their dependents. Those men who risked their lives for the State, voluntarily or under conscription, are entitled at least to have their disabilities borne by the beneficiaries of the war.

7—Equal rights of citizenship irrespective of sex,  origin, religion or property qualifications

8—Full restoration of civil liberties

(a) The repeal of all legislation restricting freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly or of association

(b) Repeal of the amendments to the Immigration Act which make possible the deportation without ordinary judicial process or trial by jury of persons not Canadians by birth or naturalization— including British subjects

(c) Liberty for the workers to enjoy an unrestricted right of association as is exercised by the "Capitalist Interests"

(d) The right of Labor organizations to partake in political activities

9—Re trade relations and immigration

As free intercourse between nations as is consistent with the maintenance of a decent standard of living. We realize that the rival policies of the old nations (protection or free trade, free or restricted immigration) do not offer any real solution of our economic problems

10—Re taxation

(a) Abolition of fiscal legislation that fosters and sustains class privilege

(b) Removal of taxes from the necessities of life

(c) Taxation of land values

(d) After exemptions of small incomes a steeply graded income and inheritance tax

11—A Capital Levy for the extinction of the war debt

12—Proportional representation, with grouped Constituencies

13—Re Constitutional Amendments

(a) Abolition of the Senate

(b) Legal as well as Constitutional Dominion Autonomy, with proper safeguards for Provincial Rights

14—Opposition to all forms of militarism

(a) Abolition of Secret Commitments

(b) National disarmament

(c) The development of a Democratic League of Peoples

Chapter I.

Labor and Politics

As far as Labor is concerned, Revolution is the economic goal of the Labor movement. (Mr. Woodsworth, May 14th, 1922. *Harvard 271*)

In the chapters which follow there is given a summary and exposition of the political programme of Labor in this country as presented in the House of Commons by J. N. Woodsworth. These are based on the principles contained in the platform of the Independent Labor Party of Manitoba, of which Mr. Woodsworth is an elected representative.

Before proceeding to the discussion of specific topics some quotations may be given at the outset from Mr. Woodsworth on the general question of labor's participation in politics. It is unfortunately true that there is still a serious lack of the working class of this country which is not sufficiently aware of the need for a separate labor party and which in some cases definitely opposes direct political representation.

One of the first illusions which it is necessary to dispel is the idea that there is any difference between the two old parties — "as far as Labor's interests are concerned" and that assistance may be expected from either of them toward the solution of the fundamental social problems in which Labor is interested. These old terms "liberal" and "conservative" and Mr. Woodsworth in 1922 *Harvard 242* designate simply as has been well recognized, two political groups that are not fundamentally different in politics."

Both the old time parties, as Mr. Woodworth has shown us a number of addresses have incorporated in their platforms some of social legislation but nothing has been done towards carrying them into effect. The Labor Party for instance had endorsed the Labor clause of the Peace Treaty the first of which emphasized the guiding principle that labor should not be regarded merely as a commodity or article of commerce. I should like to ask the government and Mr. Woodworth in 1915 when and by whom put out any specific issue in which they have regarded labor as social legislation providing that labor should not be regarded as anything else than a commodity. Similarly he referred to these parties second with respect to the remaining clause dealing with the right of labor to organize.

The platform further provided for a wage adequate to maintain a reasonable standard of life. The eight hour day, the forty-eight hour week, the week's rest of twenty-four hours, the abolition of child labor, equal pay for equal work, the equitable economic treatment of the workers and the maintenance of labor union and industrial representation. I suggest that he said that any effort has been put forth to make good these promises.

The Labor Party had drawn up a charter of labor rights which included the unemployment and old-age insurance matters and the representation of labor in foreign commerce as effective agents for the conservation of human life and health, the federal supervision of cooperative commercial organizations etc. We have had placed before us, said Mr. Woodworth, this charter of labor rights by

the Liberal Association and no doubt many labor men have been induced to support the Liberal Government because they believed the government would carry out at least some of the promises contained in the charter. Labor has been patient, perhaps too patient. We should recognize now that the interests of labor and of the common people of the country ought to receive first consideration.

I would point out to the Government, as I did later in 1925 (Harvard 472) that the Labor Party throughout its history is beginning to move to estimate facts in terms of mass affairs of broad dimensions through the present immigration. We have rather been pleading for protection for the unskilled, for old age pensions for the right death tax and for active interference in industrial disputes in such a way that the interests of the laboring man be safeguarded. We have had again and again for five years trouble in Nova Scotia and the Government consistently refuse to take any effective action in regard to safeguarding the interests of the workers. Again we have to point out that the laws now in the statute books which discriminate against labor by certain clauses in the Immigration Act and the "Expatriation" act should be removed. None of these things have been done.

Dealing with the development of separate political activity by labor Mr. Wainwright and Hammond 1922-2242. In the past the great mass were very largely without political expression. I certainly the common people did not vote but it was very slowly that they began to have any opportunity of giving expression to the needs of the rank and file. For a long time they would elect either Liberals or

Conservatives It is in very recent years that the Labor people who form a very considerable part of the population of this country have begun to understand that it is necessary that they too should give political expression to their views and to realize that their policies are entirely different from those of the business classes which are more or less represented by the Liberals and Conservatives.

Every precedent was once a demonstration, said Mr. Woodsworth in 1924 (Hansard 540) "and our fathers were wise and able enough to make laws to meet their day. We ought to have sufficient foresight to do in our day what they did in theirs."

We should recognize clearly, he said in 1925 (Hansard 51) that the interests of labor and of the common people of the country ought to receive first consideration. There it seems to me is the fundamental question that confronts the people of this country. Everywhere we are told that property must be protected, that the landholders must be made secure and so on. The time is coming when the people will rise in their might not by means of armed strength but in full force of their intelligence and demand that the governing bodies of this country shall see to it that their welfare receives first consideration.

Speaking in 1924 (Hansard 41) Mr. Woodsworth emphasized the similarity of the programmes of his own party and the British Labor Party. His remarks were related to the acceptance of office by the Labor Party in Great Britain.

"Any thoughtful man," said Mr. Woodsworth, "will recognize that this is not merely the coming into

offing of a new political party, but represents the emergence of a new set of ideas. I should like to point out that in recognizing the magnitude of the Soviet Union's power, the two parties are actually underestimating the power of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union's power is not only a result of its military and economic power, but also of its political power. The Soviet Union's power is not only a result of its military and economic power, but also of its political power. The Soviet Union's power is not only a result of its military and economic power, but also of its political power.

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work of equipping the land valuation department, securing to the community the economic rent of land and facilitating the acquisition of land for public use. The Labor Party is working for the creation of a commonwealth of co-operative service. It believes that so far only a beginning has been made in the scientific organization of industry. It will apply in a practical spirit the principle of public ownership and control to the mines, railway service and electric power stations and the development of municipal service. Labor's vision of an ordered world envisions the nations now torn by rivalry and strife. It stands therefore for a policy of international co-operation through a strengthened and enlarged League of Nations, the settlement of disputes by consultation and judicial arbitration and the resumption of free economic and diplomatic relations with Russia. This will pave the way for disarmament, the only security for the nations."

"I think," went on Mr. Woodsworth, "that the members of the House will be in a better position to judge of the arguments and policies which we attempt from time to time to put forward in this corner of the House if they understand that we have been working very much along the lines proposed by the Labor Party of Great Britain in co-operation with the organizations of which it forms a unit."

Chapter II.

Canada's Natural Resources

Nothing is more vital to the economic stability of a people than the proper use of its natural resources. It is the very basis on which economic existence rests, the source and the condition of human well-being and power. Anything which interferes with the free use by the people of the natural resources available for

get and production, intervention between mankind and its means of existence.

Capital has long recognized the strategic value of natural resources and the whole system of private land ownership, private exploitation of important sites for sale control of railways and water powers, has been built up merely to protect and augment the machinery whereby capital gets between mankind and its base of supplies.

Canada has had this experience no less than any other country. The history of our big fortunes is a history of the exploitation of the social surplus accruing from the development of its land and natural resources. Operating through the medium of private ownership of land the development of this country has been marked part by part by the payment of steady tribute to the expropriators of the country's land and natural resources. The result of the whole process is a year around Canada's free economic activity, a bonus payment to those who neither produce nor distribute goods or create, but who by virtue of an early acquired right graciously give their consent to our people at a price to use the facilities provided by Nature for our livelihood and enjoyment.

Mr. Woodworth has dealt with this important question time and again in the House of Commons, indicating in trenchant terms the manner in which the resources of the country have passed under private control. In 1922 see Hansard 1922-p. 2242 he pointed out that the past few years had witnessed a shifting of wealth from the large group of the public to a much smaller group, and he traced the history of

adopt a policy by which to conserve those that still remain undisturbed of the Democratic Government. And I hope that policy does not shall be also to suggest for the people the water powers that have been alienated. I would urge upon the Department that there should be no further alienation of any water power whatever.

In 1926 Mr. W. Underhill raised, in definite terms the question of nationalization of natural resources, and on the 19th of April 1930 he quoted (see *Harvard* 1930, p. 256.)

That is the question of the House. Conservation should be taken to mean for the use of the people the new mines and water-powers which are now being exploited as the interests of private corporations, not as for them for the benefit of the people.

Speaking in support of his motion he said that, although a message as of this character would be noticed somewhere by some people that was hardly because there was not a sufficient number of people in the country thinking along modern lines. I have not the slightest doubt, however, he added, that before very many years have passed, these questions will come decidedly within the realm of practical politics.¹⁷

In that speech he gave many quotations showing the encroachment of capital on the natural resources, and particularly on the water powers of the country. It is not possible to speak of our natural resources when these possessions are really under the control of a private corporation operating in their own interests rather than for the public welfare. All of modern civilization and its derivative activities are conducted on the basis of the time and labour saving which has resulted from the development of water power. Capital has realized the value of this item and is organized to secure a monopoly of these resources.

[illegible]

The Committee observed from public testimony that some labor and agribusiness organizations that otherwise are pro-labor and pro-environment are not always as vocal as they should be in support of the proposed changes. The committee also observed that some labor and agribusiness organizations are not always as vocal as they should be in support of the proposed changes. The committee also observed that some labor and agribusiness organizations are not always as vocal as they should be in support of the proposed changes.

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The report, prepared by the National Security Council, states that the United States has a "strategic interest" in the Middle East, and that the United States should "maintain a strong and active role in the region." The report also states that the United States should "continue to support the efforts of the United Nations to achieve a just and lasting peace in the Middle East."

Chapter III.

The Socialization of Industry

With the development of large scale industry we have studied the great changes in human society, but we have not yet seen the full extent of the changes in the organization of industry. We have seen the changes in the organization of industry.

There were two important changes in the organization of industry during Mr. Wacker's first term. The first change was the change in the organization of industry. The second change was the change in the organization of industry. It was the change in the organization of industry. The third change was the change in the organization of industry. The fourth change was the change in the organization of industry. The fifth change was the change in the organization of industry. The sixth change was the change in the organization of industry. The seventh change was the change in the organization of industry. The eighth change was the change in the organization of industry. The ninth change was the change in the organization of industry. The tenth change was the change in the organization of industry.

In 1912 Mr. Wacker's second term raised the question of the change in the organization of industry. The first change was the change in the organization of industry. The second change was the change in the organization of industry. The third change was the change in the organization of industry. The fourth change was the change in the organization of industry. The fifth change was the change in the organization of industry. The sixth change was the change in the organization of industry. The seventh change was the change in the organization of industry. The eighth change was the change in the organization of industry. The ninth change was the change in the organization of industry. The tenth change was the change in the organization of industry.

Going back to the history of our country and fifty years ago we referred to the economic change known as the Industrial Revolution. Before that period the means of production were held by the great

methods of manufacturing and transportation associated in reducing the globe to a single economic entity. The art of that industry as it concerns itself however has spread more beyond the confines of nations as well boundaries. Whether we like it or not we are to-day in an international economy. That is the point we must remember. One of the difficulties is that we are still thinking in the terms of one continent instead of a world term.

When the effect of these economic changes on the condition and status of workers is considered pointed out Mr. Woodworth we find a decided difference between the peasant farm worker and the comparatively independent artisan operating before the industrial revolution. The worker to-day is at the absolute mercy of large corporations which control and operate the means of production. He is left with nothing but his labour power and must even compete in the sale of that.

The worker is thus reduced to the position of a wage slave. His economic position would be more clearly understood by the farmers of this country if they could picture a great expanse coming into the West, having up thousands of square miles of territory and thus monopolizing the means of agricultural production. Workers on the farms would then be employees and not owners.

The old time farmer would become simply a hired man. Finally he would be compelled to give up the little home in which he had been brought up and go and live at some remote point from which the farm requires a ride to market. He would have nothing to say as to the disposal of his product. From then on he would be reduced to the position of being merely a hired man and his children become hired men. That is the position of the industrial worker.

As a matter of fact this process is already in operation in some parts of the continent. Plantations from the South Western States show that the farmers are rapidly losing their farms and homesteads and with them go the ability to live as independent but are rapidly being combined with the forces of a South operating on a commercial basis and of course.

The agriculturalists are getting paid less and less for their product and are being driven out of business. A considerable amount of land is being taken up by the government and is being sold at a very low price. The government is also taking up the land of the farmers and is selling it at a very low price. The government is also taking up the land of the farmers and is selling it at a very low price.

The English Empire has been the main part of the world's production and has been the main part of the world's production and has been the main part of the world's production. The world has been the main part of the world's production and has been the main part of the world's production. The world has been the main part of the world's production and has been the main part of the world's production.

There are many reasons for this. One is that the world is a very large place and there are many different kinds of people living in it. Another is that the world is a very old place and there have been many wars and revolutions. A third is that the world is a very rich place and there are many different kinds of resources.

The last World War was caused by a number of reasons. One was that the world was a very large place and there were many different kinds of people living in it. Another was that the world was a very old place and there had been many wars and revolutions.

Have any doubt about that question before or after the war the Peace Treaty and the events that followed its signature have made clear to the world that the great nations are determined to maintain and to defend their independence and integrity to the last when but the preservation of the world's integrity and independence and that national unity is not the reflection of the world's unity of these things.

[illegible]

Students were taught several strategies with the possible exception of those requiring students to perform calculations of values. Some students have a more challenging or a more complex challenge in the process of using a more complex strategy to solve the problem.

The next source of influence is the request conveyed by these business and industrial agencies over public and government. As an example, the Federation of British Industries represents a combined capital of over 100,000 million dollars and at least seventy members of the British Parliament are members of the House represented in the Federation. They have given as far as is possible of representative participation for the purpose of influencing and determining the programme of the Government Parliament.

"Significantly the more acute the need which poses the operations of financial capital, and the less government of the country. When the workers' organizations in

gain a majority in the House of Commons and abolish the House of Lords they would only have captured the outskirts. The real struggle would still be before them."

The capitalist system is fundamentally defective and as a summary of its defects Mr. Wundsworth quoted from Huber and Beatrice Webb's *The Decay of Capital and Civilization*—summing the defects of capitalism as follows:

First: Although poverty may have other causes its main cause results from the fact that the general population is divorced from the ownership of the instruments of production. When this divorce occurs even though the aggregate production might be relatively large the bulk of the people live in poverty and are constantly threatened by starvation.

Second: This poverty and its accompanying insecurity is rendered more hideous and humiliating by the relative comfort and luxury of the owning class and by the shameless idleness of some of its members.

Third: In addition to the poverty and insecurity is the glaring inequality in personal freedom between the propertyless man and the member of the owning class.

Fourth: The Socialist believes that the very base of the capitalist system is essentially un-suited as a means of organizing the production and the distribution of commodities and services and fundamentally inconsistent with the spiritual advancement of the race.

This is the practical difficulty. It is not only that the capitalist system is to be supplanted by social

grounds, but that it fails to function. It is falling down on the job of supplying large numbers of men, women and children with actual necessities of life. It is not doing one thing against another, and one nation against another nation and so there are no supporters who have there a real something to fight the capitalist system. That is fundamental's answer.

What then constitutes Mr. Wacker's "dis- labor program"? Labor program, he there might be in democracy not only in politics, but in industry. There might be industry in a complete sense, but there is no railroad and wages, society must organize production in a form of use and not of profit. That constitutes a fight to have goods as well as in that industry, such as a producing enterprise, in producing as much as he can, producing unemployment of the resources of the people, and we have forgotten the purpose required in production. We say that we have to get back to production as an organization our production and distribution processes that we shall produce in order that we can produce use.

The situation with which I am in a hard request makes for political use and I cannot be helped that there will be a return to normalcy. Instead there is an need a new spirit in history, a new spirit, a new way of doing things. The new kind of production is not production in individualism, society and justice, but production in humanistic spirit. The present system is unable to meet the needs, needs and demands of present society and gives no satisfaction of power. That fact must be recognized and with it the necessity for radical changes.

Mr Woodsworth had no serious conscious doubt with this subject in his speeches giving not only an analysis of the present business situation in Canada but a historical picture of the functions of money and the development of the banking system.

Speaking in 1921 during the delivery of the Address on Hamilton 1921 p. 4 he said

Some things are not natural, things with no history in Canada where we have absolute monopolies with private banks who enjoy there as a special advantage of goods and when, on the other hand, there are large numbers of unemployed.

Turning to the big banking institutions to see what light they could throw on the problem he stated that though there have been a lot of huge crops and reports of harvests greater than we ever had before yet all sold at very inadequate prices.

There is an obvious failure in the business world, of enterprise both in our Government and other public bodies and yet at the same time they talk up of their big great gains. The other failure is enterprise and whether or not the business structure itself is sound. We shall not get very far if we begin merely to tinker with the present banking system without getting deeper down than that.

The real trouble today he went on is that the ordinary people of the country have not enough buying power. The historical situation in Canada may be illustrated in the manner. Suppose the whole country was dependent upon irrigation for its agriculture, production and suppose that one group of people controlled the great rivers that pour their waters through the Nelson river into the Hudson Bay, another group controlled the Great Lakes and the St.

whole of the industrial life of this country, more they manufacture a few "industries" and a commercial life.

Legislation which creates artificial monopolies therefore cannot improve the economic life, in the interests of a nation which is so small, and so far from the center. It tends to do just the opposite, for, although it may mean the preservation of some kind of a national property,

it merely postpones the inevitable. Mr. Woodworth is a good example of a person to whom there are no real doubts as to the way that can be taken against those things which he regards as the cause of the ruin of water-power and hydro-electricity. But what is the industrial position of a country in which the owners of these great resources are engaged in a struggle without having to go to the length of obtaining credit. Money then, is the key which opens the door to capital. The business head is far the key that admits us to the riches of this country.

The results of this dual nation, which are made much more obvious and tangible by the systems of money, gold and interfering legislatures, show themselves in social and political conditions as well as in economic affairs. A large number of the problems whose names are prominent in banking affairs are also prominent in governmental affairs, and through the system they control politics. A number of the most important industrial movements are now taking place in all the more developed countries. These include the acquiring a monopoly of the financial world of the country by a few who dominate all industrial and commercial affairs. The people who actually do the manufacturing, whether the employees of the employers, do not really own the factories. The real

ownership is with the financier. He controls not merely one industry but a host of industries, widely ranging in character.

What is the remedy proposed? Here is the power to be checked. It is in the direction of the country's resources to be protected from the financial monopolists. Mr. Woodworth gave the answer on March 6, 1925 when he stated:

That is, to keep out of our hands and out of the control of the capital at large, but the property of young farmers and of contributing citizens, and to be granted to private corporations. (House, 1925)

Speaking in support of a resolution he introduced that it should be made a requirement that the proposal should not be in the interests of the holders of the Canadian Bankers Association which would prefer that things should remain as they were. Yet the question as to whether it was in the interests of the public at large that business men should receive a private monopoly was an altogether different matter he went on. Many schemes might be advanced as desirable substitutes for the existing system as for instance to make banks or private banks or a central reserve bank or the introduction of cooperative banks or some one of the many new financial systems which have been discussed but the first step is to show the injustice and arbitrariness of the existing method.

Modern industry and civilization provided Mr. Woodworth "are based largely upon the exchange of surplus products. In the old days, a man requested what he himself produced. Later on, when he began to produce more of one commodity than he required

for himself there was possible an exchange and barter sprung up. Nowadays this exchange is carried on by means of money. Money is not wealth in itself it is merely a means of facilitating the exchange of goods and services which in earlier times was accomplished by barter.

Whatever perhaps the function of money in real money and according to that bank notes are in real money. We may bring into several stages through which bank notes have passed. First of all there as units represented gold there was as much gold as there were bank notes. Then it was found by the bankers that it was quite possible to issue a larger amount of paper money than the value of the gold supply. It was found in practice that only a few people demanded gold and that as long as general confidence could be maintained a small reserve of gold was sufficient. That stage is what we know as the gold loan. That is there was on hand simply a sufficient supply of gold to meet the demand not a sufficient supply of gold to cover all the paper that was in circulation.

If money then is the medium of exchange and the standard by which we measure the value of all other commodities what determines the value or better still the purchasing power of money itself? What determines the purchasing power of any particular man such as the farmer? This is to be found in the quantitative theory of money. The purchasing power of money depends on the quantity of money in relation to the available quantity of goods which are to be exchanged. Thus, as Professor Irving says:

Double the quantity of money and, other things being equal, food will be worth as high as before and the value of money

men, not directly responsible to the people, control the money practically of the whole people of Canada.

2 That the currency should be issued by the government. The issue of money is essentially a governmental function and should not be given to any privileged group.

3 As the amount of money in circulation including the credit which is given has a direct bearing on the cost of living, it is all-important that this function too, should be controlled by officials who are responsible to the public and not to irresponsible private corporations.

4 That post-office savings banks should be developed and modernized and freed from red tape. There is no reason whatever for the deposit of the people's savings in private banks except that they find it so awkward to do business conveniently at the government savings bank. The business done by the government savings banks should be increased, and a source provided from which the government itself could draw very largely for its loans.

5 That the operating of provincial savings banks as now exist in Ontario and Manitoba and in both cases carrying on very successfully should be encouraged and developed and they should be given full banking privileges.

Chapter V.

The Standard of Living and Social Insurance

Now in the face of the poverty that prevails in so many parts of our land, underpinned by a payment of some of our Senators, no better evidence can be shown. I repeat that we have come to a point in the history of our country where we must be determined to do what alone, through profits or business welfare, I do not believe that here is a place of immediate demonstration in the future. I would like have men's minds up, but minds not so much as they can decide it, business welfare as to be given the prevalence." From Mr. Woodsworth's address, 1922 Harvard, p. 47.

The general question of the uneven distribution of wealth and standards in this country was touched on by Mr. Woodsworth during the budget debate in 1927. Harvard 1927, p. 557.

The Minister of Finance, he pointed out, had taken a very optimistic view of the situation in Canada. The Minister had said that

The Dominion stores its National Treasure not only a happy nation. The farmers have a growing crop and happy. For harvest is in. Wheatmen are active and working well up to capacity. Stock raisers are working. Various enterprises are at a high level and our manufacturing companies report a large national output and a high rate of growth. Industry is plentiful and a business spirit prevails.

While that may be true with regard to certain standards or groups, submitted Mr. Woodsworth it is not true of very considerable sections of the community. It may be true that some have great prosperity but there is a great difference these days between the rewards received by the ordinary worker whether in industry or on farms, and those which come to many

He was on March 13, 1978 (see Hattner 1978, p. 1100)
he moved

[illegible]

My idea in bringing the resolution before the House, he said, is that we should make statutory the government's free-trade policy. Let me read a clause from that bill which goes with the matter.

[illegible]

Journal of Interpersonal Violence 26(10)

The purpose of the proposed bill is to provide for a minimum standard of life as that is understood in these times and country."

These guys he mentioned clearly state that although it isn't a constitution, the un business in the country as far as the principles has been followed but although is a constitution the principles to be given that is at least and as we have a constitution for certain purposes. The reasons to the us are based on what the activity will stand rather than on what the status requires. If the purposes of the treaty as above stated are to be carried out the principles on which we have been working in this country must be entirely reversed.

Another principle must be recognized namely that a reasonable standard of living is a first charge on industry. Although the question is comparatively new here in Canada, it has been under discussion for a

number of years in other parts of the world. As early as 1907 Judge Higgins of the Australian Federal Industries Court declared that a standard wage was essential to industries and that a standard of living which would give remuneration commensurate to supply the normal needs of the average worker would be a basis for fixing living wages in all other industries.

If that standard is to be put on a basis of human needs and to be done in such a way as to avoid any undue provision for a desired standard of living, and that standard of living is used here to be better understood in this way by Judge Higgins, then the purpose is

to reach a standard which I would suggest there is still very little legislation anywhere for such a standard, good and adequate to such workers and employers. The principle of minimum wages has however been recognized. It has been adopted in all modern markets and labor law is now a part of it. In these provisions regulations are made effective and I would not be surprised if they could be made and apply them to the same workers. One exception I make, that is question of the standard is the living wage of 1907, which was a great step forward, made the standard basis. The British Education Main Standard Wage Act provides for the establishment of minimum wages for men employed in nearly all types of industry, the minimum rates to be fixed by the Board of Adjustment under the Hinge Act, 1921 which provided for an eight-hour day.

The further question that arises is, and Mr. Woodhouse is, how do we determine what a basic wage really is and what efforts have been made to

the minimum wage might tend to become the maximum. Mr. Wadsworth agreed that this might become a real danger. It was proposed to fix a minimum wage in every industry. But he did not propose the fixing of a maximum for each industry. He advocated a general lower wage below which it should not be legal for any employer to go.

There is a further objection from the owners of industry that industry cannot bear the burden.

Labor's reply to this is that any industry that cannot pay its employees a decent wage is, in fact, and that that industry might just as well perish. If an industry is worth carrying on, it ought to afford a decent living to the people engaged in it. Wages ought to be regarded as a first charge on industry. As it is today, we suppose interest and profits in various forms to be a prior charge. That way of thinking it did be revised, and we must recognize that wages which mean the very life of the employees ought to constitute the first charge on industry. As a matter of fact, our employees are not treated as so fair a class as our own animals, for we have in the statute books laws for the protection of cattle is animals. A bull is not allowed to work a horse and not give it proper food, he is not to be made used to keep a wild animal in confinement, or to work unnecessarily during the day. Yet many people in the country are working for anything but an adequate wage. They do not receive enough even to provide them with the bare necessities of life.

A suggestion has been made that in the event of a minimum wage law being put into effect there might be danger of a shortage of work for those seeking

hands of a few has enabled capitalists to retain the greater part of the value which they and the workers of the community have been able to produce. That has been going on for a good many years, and it has been satisfactory perhaps from the world's standpoint, for some time, but we are coming to the point where those countries which formerly were the markets for our goods are now becoming our competitors in the manufacture of similar goods. In a word we are being thrown back upon ourselves, and it is well worth considering whether from the larger economic aspects we would not, as Hobson has suggested, gain by distributing a great deal more in the form of wages and services than we are doing at the present time.

Old Age Pensions

The securing of a scheme of Old Age Pensions has held the attention of the Labor unions for a number of years. It was through the efforts of the Labor members that the matter was referred to a Committee. It was the Labor members who pressed for a favourable report from the committee, and the Labor members, who, taking advantage during 1906-7 of the close party division, finally forced action on the subject.

The subject of Old Age Pension Legislation was brought to a head by the Labor members in a communication addressed to the Prime Minister on January 7, 1908, which read as follows:

7th January, 1908.

Dear Mr. King:

As representatives of Labor in the House of Commons we ask whether it is your intention to introduce at this session

a great deal further than it did a year ago " This referred mainly to the feature of the legislation which involved provincial concurrence "We Labor representatives," said Mr Woodworth earlier in the debate, "have always been in favor of a Federal measure." They were prepared to support the measure, however, if nothing else was forthcoming at the moment The Government re-introduced the bill which had been passed in 1926, prior to the election in that year Despite the criticism of the Opposition, the bill was passed, and, after considerable discussion, was adopted by the Senate.

Chapter VI.

Unemployment

Unemployment and, what is perhaps worse, the fear of unemployment, is the most demoralizing and devastating features of the capitalist system. The worker, divorced completely from ownership or direct share in the means of production, is entirely at the mercy of the efficiency of the prevailing economic system. Any event or fundamental defect which throws that system out of key strikes first at the workers' employment. Possessed of strength, desire to work, wife and children dependant upon his effort for their support, the worker displaced from employment must none the less stand idly by and watch his talent deteriorate and his family starve. He is helpless until some capitalist finds it profitable to buy and use his energy

100 are well-known phenomena. Single business, trained in a cost method which by a change or advance in production are obliged to sell at the price - some progress which is increasing output, yet contrary to the law of the market, which after a time has led to a decline the cause of losing the cost involved a change from one method of production to another. The capitalist under a competitive system is allowed to take the loss, but leaving the unemployed unemployed he gets his compensation from society as he has not the capital to work with, he is introducing a machine or longer list to value of the product in his possession and want to know the throwing of a cost upon him, that he cannot get on with the worker that he goes into the domain. A social contract, a law governs. In the interests of human welfare and no profits would make the worker first concern.

The unemployment problem, then, presents several features for the power which may be stated as follows:

1. Unemployment is undesirable that is the worker is helpless to remedy his situation.
2. It is therefore the duty of the state to remedy the situation.
3. This can be done,
 - a. By providing work.
 - b. By maintaining the unemployed until he is again at work.
 - c. By an adequate system of unemployment insurance.
4. Do present credit and financial control methods interfere with the regulating of industry?

If one to-day would have a freehold homestead, he must pass almost beyond the reach of the railways. To-day the largest part of our natural resources which any man could have been expected to find and the opportunities which were present in the early days in this Western country of ours, and its mining development, are not so numerous. We expect that we have a large scale collective production, that we are creating a large scale monopoly in the transport and in the distribution to-day for a man without capital to obtain a start. In these circumstances, it is inevitable as inevitable, and we ought not to treat the unemployed man as he were some sort of a criminal.

The state is therefore under obligation to provide work, not merely the work test which is provided in connection with direct relief, but to provide steady work. Surely in this country, with its social and industrial development, there is work provided in a number which can be undertaken by an army. We have in this country sufficient opportunities for work, that any man who is willing to work, ought to be given a chance.

Until, however, suitable work is provided there ought to be adequate maintenance. It is this principle which underlies all unemployment insurance schemes.

The principle of unemployment insurance is not a novel one. It has been recognized in Workmen's Compensation Acts, which acknowledge that an industry ought to carry its own risks, and that a man is injured while pursuing his work, the industry itself ought to be charged with at least the expenses

clearing of these lands? Large numbers of people lack the prime necessities of life, even of clothes. We have factories and mills working idle, which are capable of producing these things, and if these various industrial organizations cannot carry on their business because of Government taxes, 60 per cent, and in the circumstances, put these idle men at work and see that the needs of the people are provided for.

Chapter VII.

Civil Liberties

Three items are selected under this heading out of the speeches of Mr. Woodsworth which deal with civil liberties and the freedom of labor organization.

1. Amendments to the Immigration Act.
2. Suppression of the labor espionage activities of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.
3. The right of trade unions to contribute to political funds.

The question of the Immigration Act amendment came out of legislation passed in 1919, following the Winnipeg general strike. It vests repressive power in the Federal authorities and permits the immigration authorities to deport any person, not born in Canada, who is suspected of political crime, without any public trial or hearing other than a departmental investigation. The threat of deportation has for many years been a ready instrument in the hands of governments for the intimidation of workers. In the early days of trade union struggles conviction meant deportation to one of the colonies, generally Australia. Deporta-

the statute books legislation, by which men were to be deported from Canada without trial or jury.

The key to the whole situation he went on, lies in the following definitions according to sub-section 1 of the Act:

Canadian domicile can only be acquired for the purposes of the Act by a person having his domicile for at least five years in Canada after having been landed therein within the meaning of this Act.¹

That would seem to show explained Mr Woodsworth that any immigrant to this country, whether an alien or a British born person, may acquire Canadian domicile in five years and that, having acquired Canadian domicile he is protected. But that is not so, because a little further down we find this clause:

And provided that no person who belongs to the prohibited or undesirable classes within the meaning of section 41 of this Act shall be capable of acquiring Canadian domicile.

There is where the difficulty lies. It is all very well to say that a man who has lived five years in this country acquires Canadian domicile. But if, for reasons thereafter enumerated, he is considered to be undesirable within the meaning of the Act, he becomes incapable of acquiring Canadian domicile whether he has been here five years, or twenty years. The safeguards which he ought to have are taken away.

Now, if we turn to the other sections, went on Mr Woodsworth we find that there are a variety of reasons under which people may be considered as being undesirable. It is quite true that slight modifications have been proposed in section 40, but the other sections still leave anybody born outside of this country liable to deportation, for instance:

about loss of property would thereby under this clause be regarded as undesirable and liable to deportation without trial. Opposing to this action concluded Mr. Woodsworth does not mean the advocating of the destruction of property nor defending the man who seeks to destroy property. That is not the point. The point is that the man accused of such things ought to be tried before his peers given a fair chance to present his case and not be shuffled out of the country without a trial.

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police

The subject of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police has been touched upon by Mr. Woodsworth in a number of his addresses. On March 5 1923 he moved: *Resolved* 1923-24

That "in the opinion of this House it is in the public interest that the present Royal Canadian Mounted Police be disbanded and that there be organized a new federal police force for the protection of government buildings and other federal property in the Northwest Mounted Police Force, whose activities would be confined to unorganized territories."

The original force founded by Mr. Woodsworth, is one with which we were familiar in the earlier days of the West and the activities in which were confined to the North West Territories where it performed a very valuable service in protecting pioneer settlers and dealing with the Indians and the cattle thieves on the Western prairie. But in February 1919 the activities of that force were extended so that it operated from Fort William to the coast and on June 17 1920 it was organized on an altogether new basis. From that time the cost has ranged from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000 per year. Out of 1100 men, only 78 are

stationed in the Yukon and North West Territories. If only this small force had to be provided for expenses were the considerably cut down and the future which were original contemplated for the Royal North West Mounted Police would be a help for Mounted police need not be equipped to guard persons in our art galleries as is now the case however valuable those pictures may be. During the war and post war period there has been some serious duties for these men to discharge but that part of their work has ceased.

The serious question involved in this matter is that of the part played by the Mounted Police in the enforcement of the Criminal Code. Very few of the citizens of Canada realize to great powers that under the Criminal Code are vested in the Force. Under our subsection of the Code as amended to on July 7 1915,

Any property real or personal belonging or suspected to belong to an unlawful association or held or suspected to be held by any person for or on behalf of such an association may without warrant or arrest or fear of punishment of any person be seized and delivered to the Chief Commissioner of the Dominion Police or to the Commissioner of the Royal North West Mounted Police and may thereupon be forfeited to His Majesty."

It is not necessary under this clause that a man be a member of any unlawful association. Even if he is suspected of belonging to one an officer may without warrant seize his property. It is this power which has made it possible to use the Mounted Police as a labour espionage force.

The fact is that under the pretext of detecting and arresting, there has been established a system of espionage that is most objectionable at least to the fair names of the country.

Members of the Canadian Mounted Police have confessed that they have wormed their way into the unions secured the confidence of the members and actually tried to get people to purchase stocks which they know to be tainted and so, if possible, to persuade them to commit a crime. One corporal, said Mr. Woodsworth is still in the company of the Canadian Mounted Police and is carrying on that kind of work.

Labour Union Contributions to Political Funds

The question of Labour Union contributions to political funds arose out of the 1923 amendment to the Dominion Election Act which places restrictions on unions desiring to contribute to political funds. Speaking on June 19, 1925, Mr. Woodsworth said (Hansard 1925-4566) that although the avowed purpose of the bill was to prevent fraudulent practices or those that tend in some way to interfere with the ends of which elections are held, contributions by unions manifestly do not in any way interfere with the proper carrying out of elections. There is nothing at all fraudulent about them, no evidence of pressure being exerted in any form whatever. Everything is open and above board. Unions are regularly organized. Their meetings are openly held. Their decisions are arrived at in regular business meetings. There is nothing secret about them in any way whatsoever.

A few years ago, when the farmers of the West thought they saw the necessity for having their own representatives they found themselves under the handicap. They were regularly organized. The

far as immigration was concerned the government had practically abdicated. It had given over care of its most important functions. The immigration and those agencies responsible to which we have given the responsibility to conduct these matters have not in this country and have permitted the business keep out where they pleased and bring in where they pleased. This was the important question in this opinion. In 1911 many private lands. Mr. Hutton in an interview in September of 1911 gave at the Royal Alexandra Hotel, Winnipeg, under the management of the Canadian Pacific Railway had more or less private spent to develop some of his own dollars in developing and others. He had made an effort to get it out from the land. He himself had spent along these lines. And he said that after what he had suggested that I would be good thing of the Canadian Government upon something like fifty million dollars in a period of five years in its developing mining and other things. He himself is bringing in these people under Mr. Macdonald. He is very anxious for I might say, but in the first instance the opportunity is not given. The Canadian Government takes in the money and may spend the money but the people responsible largely reap the profits. What benefit do we get? These are questions of course to me which ought to be kept constantly in mind.

What do we do with agricultural immigrants? We want to have more agricultural immigrants but we want to have more agricultural immigrants who are leaving the land in the agricultural industry. A very considerable proportion of those who come and then drift into the cities and we have increased our employment. This question is becoming known in

should have free hand for the interested immigrant himself; we must have cheap railroad rates. The third condition is cheap money because under modern conditions to grow just as the business man must do his work on credit. The fourth condition is that in some way there must be a removal of the mortgage which so heavily bears upon industry to-day.

The trouble is that in dealing with the immigration question we have looked at the matter altogether too much from the standpoint of immigration-comparisons of them the standpoint of safe refuge and through others vice versa and so forth, and not the standpoint of the home nation and of the immigrant himself. A great deal more are thought for talks of the very difficult and very delicate process of transplanting foreign language from one country to another or from one environment to another. We should not be so afraid of the results. Keep them and we're there; be still in themselves as long they can. We need the thing, to keep people in there about them as. Apparently we have acted on that principle and while some of the people have managed to grow, others have gone to the bottom. In any case there has been no danger as yet of hardship.

Not only should the material needs of the immigrants be attended to if we are to make any thorough-going culture of immigration, but also their religious needs. There are two rules, and Mr. Woodworth is the exception.

There have come to me after some years of experience with these immigrant people and they are practical rules. The first is that we should give to these people the best they are able, and the second is that we should take from them the best that they

have brought with them from the homeland. We have not tried to understand them, we have despised them more or less. We have said to them: "You ought to become Canadian, you ought to leave everything foreign behind." We talk every night about assimilating our immigrants. I presume the meaning of that word "assimilate" is to make like. "Do we want these immigrants to be made like us?" I think I might say "Good indeed." We in this country have got so far as to set such a standard of beauty or goodness that we should want all the people to be made in our own image."

We forget sometimes that in the effort to make these people like us we drive out of them the very highest things which they bring to us. What would you think of an Englishman or Welshman who would throw off his nationality as a culture just as a man throws off his coat? We have no thought whatever enough of this question. We have brought these immigrants here to be holders of land and drawers of water and now we are able to work them more cheaply than Canadians. We are anxious to bring them in by the shipload. What is called patriotism is taught in this country but we should think a little more of what patriotism involves. We have had a great deal of condemnation of the present-day governments in the latter part because there has been a tendency to segregate the different nationalities of these immigrants. As a matter of fact it is not so much that the immigrants have segregated themselves as that when the foreigners have come in many of the English-speaking people have moved out for the very reason that I have referred to namely that they do not like to live among the foreigners. The result

has been that very frequently in the course of a few years we have little isolated foreign colonies throughout the country. The main disadvantage of presenting ourselves as colonies is that they say that that state of things should not exist and we are obliged not to put us together. On the face that suggestion makes sense, but when you also consider the other question, I have noticed that in many of the island communities where there are only two or three fishermen each community put up with the nationalists but they promote community life. They suggest possibilities for the building of schools, cooperative societies and so on, and being a whole lot have been accomplished there and yet the reaction that they get is a tremendous working machine, being here a community where they have representatives little opportunity of reaching fully into our life here. It may be a general reaction but at least for a short while these people should be a production force of themselves, who (they have been disappointed in their own mind. We must not consider our work done completely. We must make though we bring these communities carefully to the country we then through our strength in bodies and persons, extend them to the whole community. We must go further than that and see that they have full educational opportunities and in these country districts.

except those who have children the more children you have the less heavy the income tax weight. But in the case of the first payment the more children you have the heavier the tax because if anyone you have frequent expenditures of food, clothing, housing and all saving the tax so that a time when when income tax is great load of the tax which is placed upon the people of this country there is not only no exemption for those who have the frequent income, to carry but no added tax to those who are already overtaxed.

The hard term is that of taxation of land values, a well-known point of labor. The question was brought up by Mr. Goodworth in 1924. Harvard 1893 where he read.

Throughout the entire western region, there are millions of acres of land adjacent to the highways that are laid out of use. There is no way the farmer has more than the government should attempt to use some manner of zoning law that would then allow protection for these lands so that the land is not in some way be converted to be used and made productive for use.

The Acting Auditor has a suggestion as to how that might be accomplished. Mr. Winkworth replied:

[illegible]

The fourth state is that of aquatic larvae, which assumes two phases: the occupation of small streams

from taxation and the proposition for steeply grading income taxation as the income of the taxpayer is increased. "The raison d'être of the income tax," said Mr. Woodsworth in 1927 (Hansard 558) "is that the public ought to decide where the surplus wealth is to be placed. And if we carry out the principle underlying the income tax still further, it will remove this surplus wealth because all that wealth has been built out of special privileges which have been given because of the protection afforded by the government or society at large."

The same principle applies to inheritance taxes.

"I believe that we are absolutely right," he said in 1926 (Hansard 3260)"in suggesting that after a certain exemption sufficiently large to enable a man's estate to provide for his immediate dependents, the rest of the estate ought to be very heavily taxed. Personally, I would go a great deal further. I would say it ought to be expropriated."

Chapter X.

Capital Levy

The proposal of a capital levy is familiar to any one interested in labor programmes. Although emerging as a post war proposal to lessen the burden of the enormous war debt, it has an economic and social basis which goes beyond any war measure. Capital levy, under whatever name it is brought forward, means the expropriation of wealth for the general good. It means the destruction of the tribute-bearing power which exclusive concentration of

ation of life and make it so that every individual in this country has the right to have the best health care available to him. For the whole and good of the country, that which concerns the health of every the individual is a majority of people and what are called proper rights, that the welfare of the people must have first place.'

Speaking more recently, on May 10, 1926, during the League Session, Mr. Woodworth Higgins 1926, p. 1204, pointed out that during the war the country looked on the drug manufacturers as competitors and not enemies and payed 4 cents a gram for the selling of narcotics. It is true now that a large number of people have stepped up to defend during the war those who they are now calling a large number of last year's competitors, drug manufacturers, because they say defense justified the wartime arrangement. And what he said is the cause. The greater part of America's total output of narcotics is from these manufacturers. I think that he ought to be regarded as an idealist who believes that we are under an obligation to pay. The greater portion has been turned to people with other handicaps -- people who simply cannot help us in bringing a war message from different countries. He says it from the name of the national people and among them are the colored group of 100,000 people. Every thousand dollars failure to pay is being paid from the name of Americans to pay the army, navy and air force and we are told and we have heard that it is a big price. For thousands of dollars, bringing a war message, colored people, asserted Mr. Woodworth when the job seems to be that of a great military drawing from

every man from Halifax to Vancouver what little sense he can afford securing these from him not directly but indirectly through the things he buys, collecting all these little dribbles from the different sections in order that, when we have collected them they may be turned over to the few people who really control the country. That situation should be eliminated and the only effective means of altering this state of affairs is by a levy or tax on large accumulations of capital, thus abolishing the public debt and making the resources of the country available for social advancement and not for "coupon clippers."

Chapter XI.

Proportional Representation

The need of electoral reform has been recognised by Labor for some time. The determination of Labor to take its proper part in the affairs of the nation has time and again been thwarted by the arbitrary nature of the present system of representation, which neither anticipated nor is designed to meet the needs of minority representation. Gerrymander and majority vote are two very useful instruments in the hands of capitalistically-controlled governments, and will not be easily yielded.

In some Western communities, Labor has succeeded in introducing the idea of proportional representation with satisfactory results. Under this system of voting, minorities are reasonably assured of being represented according to their proportion of the votes cast. It is therefore in the interests of Labor and its parliamen-

Waters' interests and those of other systems in Florida represented by the group, such as the Waterways group. The group has been instrumental in the group's formation and in the group's efforts to appear on the state's ballot. The group's efforts have been successful in the past, and the group is confident that it will continue to be successful in the future.

It is hard to make an accurate estimate of the number of people who have been put on the list, but the business does not have to be printed twice as often as before. The difference is only 1.5 million people, or about 1 percent of the population. However, it is not clear if the list is being put out by the state or if it is being put out by the federal government. It is not clear if the list is being put out by the state or if it is being put out by the federal government.

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selves through regular parliamentary agencies, it is inevitable that sooner or later they will try to express themselves in some other way."

"We are on the side of a thoroughgoing democracy, if we say that it is in the general public interest that suitable machinery be provided. Proportional representation means simply that that machinery will and should be established so that, as far as possible, we shall have represented in this House every considerable body of public opinion in any section of Canada."

Chapter XII.

Constitutional Amendments and Dominion Autonomy

The matters to be considered in this chapter cover the general question of Dominion autonomy and Imperial relations and the specific internal question of the power of the Senate. Mr Woodsworth's policy on these matters as announced in Parliament are:

- (1) Abolition of the Senate,
- (2) Legal as well as constitutional Dominion autonomy, with proper safeguards for provincial rights.

"No government which pretends to be in earnest in having social legislation placed on the statute books, pointed out Mr Woodsworth in 1926 (Hansard un-revised p. 72), "should allow a Second Chamber to continue to have power which enables it effectively to nullify the will of the people."

The reactionary legislative policy of the Senate' was definitely characterized by Mr. Woodsworth in March 1927. Hammond writes and 1925 as one reason for the amendment of the British North America Act. Speaking to his motion which will be considered later in this chapter he pointed out, that "on the whole the action of the Senate has been reactionary in character." Referring more particularly to its recent sabotage of the Old Age Pensions measure he said "Right across this country from coast to coast there has been felt and expressed a decided sentiment on account of the action of the Senate in regard to this bill."

During this address he analyzed the class character of the Senate body. "We have been accustomed," he said, "possibly to speak a bit laughingly of that body as if it were composed of elderly men themselves in receipt of a pension. I think there is another aspect from which we ought to view this matter and that is that to no small extent the Senate is the champion and safeguard of what are commonly called the big interests."

He then went on to quote statistics showing that fifty members of the Senate control and direct the economic life of Canada. That is to say fifty senators are directors of 114 companies and financial institutions. He read the list of 1,000 share holdings of some of the Senators. Hammond pp. 100-110. In the case of Senator Langman, for instance, directorates were held up a total of 18 companies. "It is no wonder that our member exclaimed on hearing read even a smaller list, 'Is that all one man?'"

"In this Chamber," said Mr. Woodsworth, "we hear a great deal of criticism of the class groups.

Because a few farmers can get together it is said that they are indulging in a very reprehensible practice — and because a few shop people can get together it is suggested that they are a together a mass group. I would suggest that it is just as true that those groups who are acting in the towns are also very different to those groups, and that ought to be clearly recognized. In regard to the character of the interests the representatives of farmers be considered, it is in order that an irresponsible body such as that or large & representing big interests should be able to study the interests of the elected representatives of the people.

The next question with which we have to deal is the general question of Imperial relations and Dominion autonomy. The question was raised by Mr. Woodworth in 1924 when he moved: Harvard Bill

That in the opinion of this House the governing power of Canada be transferred to the D. N. E. Act and be amended and subject to the same be hereafter ought to proceed under the D. N. E. Act in those portions with regard to Canada, as above will be proper in the parliament of Great Britain or representative thereof and its people.

Four persons were chosen to replace were involved in the matter and one with regard to our relations with the Motherland and the other with regard to the relations with the other Dominions and the various provinces. The resolution simply means he pointed out that Canada ought to be allowed to grow up and that being in that position she believes that she has the right to self-determination and to the fullest measure of home rule.

He then touched on the question of provincial rights and the general question of federal-provincial

jurisdiction. The general distribution of authority as between the Dominions and the Privy Council derived its force from a sequence of cases, beginning

with *Edinburgh*, the *University of Edinburgh* case, and then *H. v. R.* The court said the doctrine that nothing could be done without regard to the law of the other was one of a particular nature. It was the assumption of independence, was not such a thing as could be done in case of being dependent. The Privy Council was not bound that either the U. N. C. or the U. S. C. should be done without consulting the Privy Council. There are very important differences and the questions as to how they can be solved.

The same feature was stressed by Mr. W. S. Woodhouse in 1921 when he said: "Parliament p. 54."

There is a strong feeling that there is a need of revision of the U. N. C. and the U. S. C. very strongly in the case of the U. N. C. and the U. S. C. The Privy Council is not bound that either the U. N. C. or the U. S. C. should be done without consulting the Privy Council. There are very important differences and the questions as to how they can be solved.

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The same feature was stressed by Mr. W. S. Woodhouse in 1921 when he said: "Parliament p. 54."

from scratch might. Every self-governing member of the Empire is given the measure of its due. In fact it not always a very small measure but it is certainly a measure.

Then he asked Mr. W. Woodsworth, lately Secretary for Education and Information, part of the programme of the commonwealth and how that might be accomplished. Mr. Woodsworth said that the only way to do it was to have a central body which would be responsible for the whole of the commonwealth. He said that the only way to do it was to have a central body which would be responsible for the whole of the commonwealth. He said that the only way to do it was to have a central body which would be responsible for the whole of the commonwealth.

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DATE DUE SLIP

Due Ruth Apr 2 '89

10:10 AM

DUE RUTH APR 30 1989

FEB

Due Ruth FEB 11 '90

FEB 10 RETURN

Due Ruth MAR 2 '90

MAR 2 TURN

REC'D AUG 14 2001

DUE RUTH FEB 2 1982 DATE DUE MAR 2 '85

FEB 25 1981

RETURN APR 13

MAR 16 1981

JUL 08 RETURN

RUTH MAR 26 1982

MAY -1 '82

MAY 25 RETURN

RUTH JUL 2 1983

DUE RUTH JUL 05 '87

JUL 12 RETURN

JUN 22 RETURN

NOV

RUTH DEC 17 1987

FEB

DEC 1 1988

FEB 17 RETURN

MAY 26 RETURN

DUE RUTH APR 30 1989

MAR 07 1986

MAY 1 1989

MAY 1 1989

Date Due

RUTH MR 22'78		
MAR 11 RETURN	MAR 03 RETURN	
RUTH APR 11'78		
MAR 23 RETURN	RUTH SEP 19'80	
DUE RUTH MAR 07'77	OCT 2'77 RETURN	
DUE RUTH MAR 21'77	DUE RUTH NOV 16'78	
MAR 14 RETURN	NOV 10 RETURN	
MAR 17 RETURN	DUE RUTH MAR 21'79	
DUE RUTH APR 01'77		
APR 1 RETURN	MAR 19 RETURN	
RUTH JUL 14'77	DUE RUTH APR 30'80	
JUN 20 RETURN	CARREL LOAN	
DUE RUTH AUG 08'77		
AUG 01 RETURN	MAR 17 RETURN	
DUE RUTH DEC 29	DUE RUTH MAR 26'81	
MAR 30 RETURN	MAR 30 RETURN	
DUE RUTH JUN 13'78	RUTH DEC 14'81	
	DEC 1 RETURN	

Date Due

		RUTH MR 20 '74
CIRC JA 31 '73		MAR 15 RETURN
CIRC FE 14 '73		RUTH MAY 5 '74
FEB 2		MAY 3 RETURN
		RUTH FE 6 '74
CIRC AP 30 '73		JAN 28 RETURN
U APH 20 RETURN		
CIRC JA 31 '73		FE 13 '74
JUN 8 RETURN		
NOV 25 RETURN		
RUTH FE 5 '74		RUTH AP 30 '75
RUTH FE 19 '74		MAR 27 RETURN
RUTH MR 5 '74		RUTH IN 17 '74
FEB 27 RETURN		JUN 13 RETURN
		RUTH NO 13 '75
NOV 14		RETURN

FC 560 W89 1929

WOODSWORTH J S JAMES SHAYER
1874-1942

LABOR'S CASE IN PARLIAMENT
39351529 HSS



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FC 560 W89 1929

Woodsworth, J. S. (James Shayer),
1874-1942

Labor's case in Parliament;
39351529 HSS

